

The Republican.

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TO THE READERS OF THE REPUBLICAN.

I FEEL that I should not do justice to you or to my own feelings, were I to drop this publication without giving you fair notice of it, and without taking my leave of you (for a time, I hope) under this title, in a becoming and respectful manner. Several causes have combined to induce me to discontinue "The Republican." The first and most important is the want of vendors; and here I find myself in this dilemma, that under its present style I cannot expect that the vendor will expose himself to imprisonment to retail a few copies, and if I adapt my style to the safety of the vendor, I shall defeat my object, and disgrace my title. This of itself is sufficient to induce me to withdraw it, and this is my principal motive for so doing; but there are other collateral causes, which I should consider but secondary, if I thought its continuation of any real importance at this moment. One of them (and a most powerful one it is) is, that the Attorney-General, or his employers, have come to the resolution to arrest every person who serves in my shop, and by their new laws to bind them by their recognizances to good behaviour, which implies, that if you serve again in the shop, your recognizances shall be forfeited. This is a persecution that no tradesman can stand against, without a corresponding support from the public, and even then it would be extremely awkward to put a stranger in the shop to serve every week. This threat has actually been put in practice, for last week Mrs. Carlile was arrested, and bound down not to serve again, or to good behaviour, which is just the same; and, by the time this goes to press, I shall expect to hear that my sister and a person in the shop are brought under the same restraint. At this rate I should want a new shopman every week, and two housekeepers as bail for him. There is one thing I am happy to hear, and that is, that Mrs. Carlile has uniformly refused to pay any fees; for the

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common custom is, to pay the judge's clerk who takes the bail, half a guinea, when you are arrested under a judge's warrant. I feel that I have set a good example on this point, and that I have saved myself from being robbed of several pounds, merely by refusing the fees at entering into recognizances, discharging them, &c. Another point is the difficulty I find in editing a weekly publication of thirty-six pages, at such a distance from London; a circumstance which has occasioned many errors creeping into the publication, and which has exposed my writings to more prunings than I could have wished: added to all this, there is a difficulty in sending a proper quantity of matter, for I neither like to see half pages, nor those (to me) disgusting words, "to be continued," in a periodical work. Another point I have considered, and that is, if the present Ministers intend to keep their places (and they can if they like, until the people are prepared to take them by the shoulders) they must have a Censorship over the Press, and this they will have too, if they continue in office much longer. This, or a representative system of government, we must have before the year 1821 ends. Another point is, that I am exposed to the mercy of half a dozen of Corruption's back-bone supporters in the character of visiting magistrates, who entirely controul this gaol, and I know that they have been holding some grave synods about preventing my sending out any manuscripts for the Press from this place. So that I am in danger of being exposed to a double censorship. Under all these obstacles and considerations, I have resolved to close the Republican with the close of the year, and with the close of the present volume; and at this moment, when there is nothing particular stirring, but all is breathless expectation, the time corresponds well with my intention. I should add another thing, that all my family bid fair to be in gaol in the spring of the year, for the Vice Society have even obtained a corrected Indictment, for the one in which they were foiled by a blunder, against Mrs. Carlile! There is some hope of escape from the Attorney-General's Informations, for if Castlereagh goes out of office, Gifford must go, and it is not likely that another Attorney-General would step into the dirty work that the latter had left unfinished. But the Vice Society appear disposed to carry on their dirty work as long as the present penal laws for the persecution of opinions are in existence. Against all this accumulation of persecution and obstacles, I shall fight whilst I can continue to print and publish another sheet; for although I give up my weekly publi-

cation, I shall occasionally publish my sentiments in a cheaper and more compact form. If I am stopped in this shape, there will be no chasm, or fragment of a volume, and the letters which I shall publish may be collected into a volume whenever there are enough of them, without being confined to any particular order of time. I am any thing but disappointed at the past, or future, for in this mode of warfare I am content, as a prisoner, under the idea of being able to fight the common enemy by means of the Printing Press!

Some deviations have taken place in the pages of the Republican, not exactly consonant with the promise of the first number, but I must plead the deviations which have occurred in my situation as an apology. Had I remained in London they should not have occurred. I flatter myself, that this apology will be satisfactory to all my readers. As to its general principles, it hardly becomes me to speak; I can only observe, that in endeavouring to be useful, I have done my best. I saw that the corruptions and delusions of the day required to be attacked with something stronger than squib and pasquinade, which, however it might annoy the subject of attack, or amuse the reader, must be confessed to be but ill adapted to convey principles to the mind. Correct principles require nothing but a clear and forcible statement to have them adopted and admired; and the promulgation of correct principles forms the most powerful opposition to corruption and delusion. Juvenal attacked the vices and corruptions of Rome in satire, but what effect did it produce? none whatever; for some of the objects of attack derived as much amusement from a description of themselves, as others to whom the satire had no relation. The first object necessary to raise man from a degradation is, to shew him what he ought to be, and elevate his mind with useful knowledge and sound political principles. This, Paine saw, and no human being, before or since, has ever elevated the minds of mankind to so great an extent. No man can rise from reading the writings of Paine without feeling an additional importance, in his character of man and a member of society. Paine troubled not about inculcating respect and obedience to existing powers; the first object he taught man was, to examine whether those powers were constituted and existing for the welfare of the society at large; if not, to set earnestly about re-constituting them, not by any violence, but by temperate discussion, and a dissemination of correct principles. To the best of my ability, I have endeavoured to tread in the steps of that ce-

lebrated character; wherever I have dissented from him on any minor point, I have not hesitated to avow that dissent; but I cordially support every tittle of his political principle. In his political writings, he has left the world a prize which will immortalize his name, and whilst superstition and religious delusion exist, his theological writings will be read with admiration and effect. I repeat here, what I have often said before, that I consider them an admirable primer to the study of true theology, in the present state of society; this the priests and supporters of fanaticism know well, or they would not be so eager to suppress this particular book, whilst there are so many similar in principle, in circulation unnoticed.

To such correspondents as have assisted the Editor in this work, he returns his sincere thanks; and to those who have subscribed sums of money towards his fine and expences, he is equally thankful. To the latter, he begs leave to say, that he passes his time very comfortable, or as comfortable as the close confinement to one room will admit. If he finds nothing to excite his spirits, he finds nothing that can make him sorrowful. He enjoys solitude in perfection, and hears no noise but the winds, the clanking of chains, and the turning of bolts and locks: an excellent place for reflection.

The Manchester massacre was the cause of this publication, and on its first appearance it came out with very good effect. The violation of all decency, which was manifest in the then Regent's thanking the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester, for their murders committed on the 16th of August, 1819, more than any thing else, made the public begin to suspect his motives. He has displayed a similar conduct down to this moment; and I have no hesitation in saying, that he argues the necessity of a republican form of government in more forcible language than I can pretend to offer. A publication conducted strictly on republican principles is not altogether necessary at this moment, for a great majority of the people are fully alive to the necessity of the representative system of government; and as to the abolition of monarchy, I do not wish to say one word about it. When I see a reformed Parliament, I would leave every thing to that Parliament, under the assurance that there is sufficient intelligence in the country to act for its own welfare. I would respect all the laws enacted by such a Parliament, for I should feel assured that if any were founded in error, they would soon be amended where annual elections existed. Under a reformed Parliament, the best place to promulgate

correct principles would be in the Senate, and it would be almost sufficient for the Press to report correctly what passed. Additional arguments, for or against a particular object, would scarcely be necessary, as every thing relative to the interests and welfare of the society would be sure to find ample discussion in the proper quarter. Violent party feelings would in a great measure cease, for where elections were founded on universal suffrage, no man would be mad enough to oppose a really popular question, if he had any idea of being returned to the Parliament again. Those who imagine that universal suffrage and annual elections would produce anarchy and confusion, argue altogether upon wrong principles. It would not produce half as much confusion as the present elections for London, Westminster, and Southwark produce; for any notorious corrupt character would not venture to ask the suffrage of the people under such circumstances. The confusion at the present contested elections arises from the infamous characters who can thrust themselves forward, under the present confined state of the elective franchise, and the vengeance of the people is excited because they cannot put down such characters by their votes, or for want of the power of voting.

The part this publication has taken in the affair of the Queen was candidly stated in the first article on that subject. It was not from an attachment to her as Queen, but because a corrupt and wicked government wished to deprive her of that rank and title to which she was justly entitled. She was an injured woman, an injured wife, an injured mother, as well as an injured Queen. This was sufficient to rouse the feelings of every man who has not villain marked on his forehead: but when we knew the Queen better: when she gave us such proofs of her noble daring: when she identified herself with the cause of the people, with the cause of reform, with the cause of universal liberty, then I could have clad myself in armour, and have sacrificed my life in her defence. She has triumphed—she will continue to triumph, although her despicable foes have some idea of further insult towards her in their corrupt and prostituted House of Commons. Her answers to her addressers have conveyed the principles of reform, and the love of liberty, into every honest bosom in the country. Whilst she has been paying a tribute to the Printing-Press, she has increased its force in a threefold degree; and whilst the people have been defending her as their Queen, and as an injured woman, they have advanced the principles of liberty, and their own cause, to a

degree that would have occupied two or three years under other circumstances to have made a similar progress. Such incidents are almost sufficient to make people talk about a Providence; but the truth is it is the triumph of the moral power of virtue over the hideous and long-discovered principles of vice. It was a struggle between good and bad principle; and the former has triumphed, as it ever will when fairly seen and brought into action. The Queen has done a noble act in defending her conduct against that of her husband: and the people have done a noble act in standing so firmly and resolutely by the Queen. The circumstance has been almost as good as a revolution, for its benefits will be the same in the end. But the people must not think the battle over whilst the present Ministers are in power, or any other set of Ministers, who do not make it their first object to reform the Parliament, and give to every man the right of suffrage. Then, and not until then, will the Queen be safe. Her rights will be secure only with the security of the rights of the people. Peace must not be proclaimed until the first election of Representatives are sitting in their legislative character.

The resignation of Mr. Canning is a strong feature in the Queen's case: although it reflects but little credit on the gentleman himself: he should have resigned on the Queen's arrival to this country, if he had wished to have displayed a manly feeling on this case, or he ought to have apprized the Queen three or four years back what was preparing for her, as he was the principal means of her leaving this country. It has now all the appearance of an agreement between him and the other Ministers that he would support them if they could beat her, but he would not help to do it; and that on condition of the Administration being foiled in their attempt he would immediately leave them. Had Canning the least idea of the Queen's guilt on the charges brought against her, he would not have been deficient in effrontery to have supported the Bill in the House of Commons; but the whole of his conduct is a proof that it was a conspiracy, and that not one of the Ministers, or the King either, had any idea of guilt attaching to the Queen. The whole and sole object was to be rid of her, and the means of effecting that object were but secondary. Old Eldon has expressed his fears in a very mournful tone that he shall not again sit in the Court of Chancery after the holidays; but the disposition of the King seems to be so bad that he can find no other Ministers in the market for hire! They all either dislike or are afraid

to serve him, and the present would gladly retire if they could with safety. They fear the loss of their heads more than the loss of their places. I begin to have strong hopes that the next will be a year of Britain's regeneration. The distressed state of commerce and agriculture, the finances, and the Queen's case, all seem to be co-operating to that one object. It must come, and the sooner the better for all parties, even those who oppose it; for the longer it is deferred the greater will be the certainty of its opposers finding their merits. Their manner of procuring loyal addresses is become a complete burlesque, and more than any thing else has shewn the irretrievable infamy into which they have sunk. I said a fortnight since that the numbers to all their loyal addresses throughout the country, would not equal that to Mr. Hunt from Manchester and its vicinity; and I now perceive the assertion has proved a fact. The Queen has twenty to one in number against the King and his Ministers! This is a number not to be trifled with, and if the King and his Ministers resolve to pursue their hostilities against the Queen and people any further, they had better never have tried their strength in loyal addresses. It proves that they are disgraced past recovery, for it is the system and not the individuals that has drawn forth the scurvy addresses which have appeared in the Gazette. It is singular that none of the addresses appear in this Royal Journal which have been moved as amendments, and have been carried as amendments wherever there has been an open and previously known meeting; and which pray the King to dismiss his present Ministers. I suppose Sidmouth keeps all these in his office, or his pocket, to see who are the seditious and the disaffected throughout the country! If he now wishes to take a proper list of the disaffected, he must make a census of the whole nation: or the names of the minority might be easily found in the list of taxgatherers, at the War-Office, or in the roll of the black regiment. There is not an honest and independent man in the country but is disaffected to the system of government. The public papers say that a Circular has been sent round to all the supporters of Ministers and the system in the House of Commons, accompanied with a copy of the speeches of Eldon and Liverpool on the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, as a guide for their opinions when the House meets: this Circular also begs hard for an attendance on the opening of Parliament, as important business will be transacted! The Ministers seem anxious for eanothr hooting out of the Parliament, and this they appear

likely to have, although they might still keep a small majority. Report says, that no set of Ministers can be found without a change of system! An excellent comment on the conduct and characters of the present; and an ample reason for their continuance in office!

I shall close my observations on the political part of this publication, by saying, that its object has been consonant with the wishes of all Reformers—a representative system of government. This I protest has been my only object, and if any persons have had further suspicions of my motives, they must have arisen solely from the want of any suspicious cant on my part about attachment to the monarchy and the royal family. I am not attached to any individual, or family. I look at a royal family with the same indifference, as I would look at any other family. In looking at the interests of the country, I can lose sight of a family. There is nothing sacred in my eye but truth and reason. I despise all royal families, and if they can exist with a representative system of government, I may begin to think better, or, at least, I shall feel it my duty to be silent about them. Queen Caroline is the only member of any royal family, to whom I have ever felt attachment, and I do consider that she is worthy to fill a throne, if she continues to support her present professions. My plan ever has been, and ever shall be, to speak as I think both of men and things. I cannot flatter what I disapprove: and whatever may be my other faults, I feel that I am free from hypocrisy.

With respect to the Deistical part of this publication, I am of opinion that I have done enough to teach even the Members of the Vice Society, that imprisonment cannot stupify my mind with bigotry. They have now the opportunity of seeing that persecution defeats its own object. Had I never been persecuted upon the score of that bugbear called religion, I should never have had my eyes fully opened to its impositions. I am now convinced that all religion is imposture, and I feel a pleasure in being its avowed opponent. I now see so clearly through the business, that I challenge any man to shew me that any species of religion is not a trick and imposture. I clearly perceive that it makes no part of morals, and that it is quite unconnected with morality. In fact, it is the dross of morals, and should be separated from the pure metal. I doubtless have shocked the prejudices of thousands, but I now can go no further: I proclaim all pretended words of God to be fiction, and all stories about God to be forgeries and fabri-

cated impostures. I deny that man has any immortal part about him, and I boldly state that he is but a part of the animal world, and lives and dies by the same rules and causes as do all other animals. I do not say that there is no God, or Omnipotent Disposer of all things, I feel that there is a power in nature superior to my comprehension, and I am content to call this power God, or by any other respectful and appropriate epithet. But I also feel, that every thing said and done in the name of this God, is but priestcraft and delusion: for as we cannot comprehend God, neither ought we to assume any thing respecting this Great Power. All such assumption must be a definition of the word blasphemy, because it must be irreverent and uncertain as to its appropriateness. Our ignorance and fears have been the chief source of this delusion called religion, and by what I feel, I can say: **HAPPY IS THE MAN WHO CAN REMOVE THIS IGNORANCE AND THOSE FEARS.**

I did expect from the professions of the Reverend William Wait of Bristol, to have had a further correspondence with him; but I have heard nothing since June last, not even the acknowledgment of my last communication to him. Those priests will write volume upon volume, upon the minor points of their religion; as to what relation exists between the Son and the Father of God; as to what relation exists between them both and the Holy Ghost; as to what becomes of the soul after death; and such like nonsense, but not one of them durst meet an opponent upon the fundamental point; as to whether all religion be or be not delusion. This is cutting too near the root: the greater part of them are fully alive to the imposition, and they durst not trust themselves into the field with a real opponent. As much sham fighting as you please, but we must not come to blows, cry they, or we shall soon be undone!

In mixing up this question with politics, I may not have studied my own interest, as I have had two classes of readers; the one who wished me to exclude the theological subject, the other the political; but few who approved the mixture, and I have from both parties received repeated exhortations to exclude both subjects. I consider the theological subject to have been strictly consonant with the title, as whatever is for the public good is Republican. In future I shall endeavour to please all my subscribers, by separating the two subjects. I shall occasionally publish a sheet on each. I do not expect to publish at regular periods, I shall write only when I feel an inclination, and have a

subject to proceed upon. Above all things I dislike writing by measure, and I am certain that where the quantity is great, there must be much repetition, and much nonsense to fill up. I congratulate the readers of the Republican on the aspect of the cause of Liberty both at home and abroad. I thank them for their support, and still hope its continuance, with my future publications, and now I most respectfully take my leave under the title of "The Republican."

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Dec. 17, 1820.

CLOSE OF THE YEAR, 1820.

AT the close of the present year, the liberal mind must look back with pleasure on the important scenes which it has exhibited; and we feel the less reluctance to discontinue this publication from the conviction that it is not necessary to the advancement of the representative system of government, at this moment. Example operates much more powerfully than precept. It was the example of Spain which produced the revolution in Naples and Portugal; and the example of the republican form of government at Port-au-Prince, has abolished monarchy at Hayti, and formed the Island of St. Domingo (an island not much inferior to Great Britain) into one Republic. It is more than probable that the example of Portugal will produce a revolution in the Brazils: already have indications to that object been displayed. Thus the tide of reformation rolls on. The obstinacy of George the Third towards the colonies of America began it, and the obstinacy of his son, George the Fourth, to all reformation, bids fair to cap the climax.

It was on the first day of the present year that Quiroga and Riego proclaimed the Constitution in Spain—a day that ought to be celebrated on each anniversary whilst a spark of freedom exists in Europe. The revolution in Spain has enlivened every liberal mind, and has taught us that nothing is too much to be hoped or struggled for, if its foundation be in nature and conducive to the welfare of man. We have now good examples before us, and let us endeavour to make a

good use of them, and not become the last among nations to recover our freedom. Surely the British army is not inferior in intellect to that of Spain, Naples, Portugal, and St. Domingo! Surely the Printing Press in this Island must have brought the soldier and the citizen to one mind! We cannot believe the contrary: the opportunity for union must be the only remaining object.

We hail the coming year as auspicious to the cause of freedom, although we feel a conviction that the Holy Alliance of Despots will make it a year of bloodshed. Scarce a doubt remains but that Austria will make war upon Naples. It has been a sad misfortune for Naples, that she has not displayed a more liberal spirit towards Sicily. The blood and treasure which has been wasted on that Island would have thrown the balance into the scale against Austria, for with such a noble resistance as the Palermitans have made, the combined force of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, would not suffice to conquer the two Sicilies. It is impossible to conquer a united nation where every inhabitant resolves to sell his life as dear as possible. The natives of a country acting in self-defence might, by stratagem and caution, destroy a dozen of the invading army for every native that fell. The only maxim at such a moment should be to sell life as dear as possible. Individual safety should not be considered, for none but a coward and a slave would wish it at the sacrifice of his liberty and country. Death is by far the least of the two evils, when slavery is the alternative; and the idea of revenge on the invading aggressor must make even death sweet. It is almost impossible that Naples can expect any support from the inhabitants of the Island of Sicily, after what has passed. Were we in the condition of the Sicilians, we confess that we should view a chastisement from Austria upon Naples as a just and merited retaliation, although it is painful to think that the cause of general liberty would suffer thereby. Naples lost sight of her own interest by her opposition to the independence of Sicily: it formed a proof that she was scarcely deserving of independence herself. We regret the circumstance, and fear the evil of its consequences is yet to come.

It is evident that the despots of Europe are straining every nerve to disturb the peace of Spain and Portugal, and we verily think that the base and perjured Ferdinand of Spain is heart-in-hand with them. Since the prorogation of the Cortes, every effort has been used in the latter country to produce a counter-revolution, and the firmness and sincere

attachment of the great body of the people to the Constitution has been the only obstacle to the measure. We shall hope to see this abject creature meet his reward, if he makes he least further effort to restore his absolute sway. We consider him as totally unfit and unworthy to be in any office in a free country. The Spaniards appear to be fully alive to his character and intentions, and we shall not be surprised to see another session of the Cortes depose him, and send him out of the country. Such a fellow deserves to be chained to a rock.

We know but little of the real state of feeling in France, as Frenchmen have lost the Printing Press, and are much more confined in the expression of their sentiments than they were at any period of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth. They have a complete mock system of representation, and it appears as if they were waiting the death of that nauseous lump of imbecility, Louis the Eighteenth. Should the Austrian troops receive a check in Italy, it will form a prelude to the emancipation of Europe, for the spirit of the representative system of government has actually travelled to Denmark and Russia!

At home, the persecution of the Queen has been of great assistance to the cause of reform: it has united all classes of reformers, and in the person of the Queen, our liberties seem to be for the moment centered. It has, above all things, shewn us the inadequacy of the present system, and the impropriety of suffering it to continue.

EDITOR.

EPICRAM.

Says Tom to Dick, "the saddest news I hear
Great Pitt is dead," says Dick, "what is't I hear?
That Pitt is dead! then let the world rejoice;
To illuminate the world I'll give my voice.
Let us carouse, and sing, and banish sorrow;
And pray that Buonaparte may die to-morrow;
For when the world these tyrants cease,
Mankind will then agree and live in peace.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,
 ABOUT the time that the "Age of Reason" appeared, two robbers were hung in chains, near Brighton; soon after, a writer in a newspaper expressed it as his opinion, that Tom Paine ought to have been hanged between them, with his book round his neck: in answer to which the following lines were written:—

G. GEEB.

Tom Paine and his book, between Howell and Rook,*
 You fain would suspend, that the people might stare;
 So Jesus was hang'd 'twixt a rogue and a thief,
 And such rascals as you wagg'd their heads at him there.
 But Tom when he's passed the Stygian lake,
 And safely arrived on Elysium's shore,
 Shall plead for his Writings on earth, at that Bar
 Where the power of the Despots avails them no more.
 Where that doctrine of Mansfield, that Truth is a libel,
 From the lips of the Judge shall receive its death-blow,
 And the point in dispute between Tom and the Bible,
 Shall be this—were the words that he wrote true or no?
 Then an awful, just Judge shall the matter decide,
 (No counsellors there with their quibbles so nice)
 And if Tom's in the right he'll be placed high in glory,
 Whilst you are hurled headlong to hell in a trice.

EPIGRAM.

Says Tom to Dick, "the saddest news I hear,
 Great Pitt is dead!" says Dick, "what is't I hear?
 That Pitt is dead! then let the world rejoice;
 To illuminate the world I'll give my voice.
 Let us carouse, and sing, and banish sorrow,
 And pray that Buonaparte may die to-morrow;
 For when to vex the world these tyrants cease,
 Mankind will then agree and live in peace.

• The names the two robbers.

THE HEAVENS, OR SKY, ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENTS.

A SILK-WORM might as well give the name of heaven, to the little down which surrounds its shell, as the ancients give that appellation to the atmosphere, which, as M. Fontenelle, in his *Plurality of Worlds*, prettily says, is the down of our shell.

The vapours, which exhale from our seas and land, and form clouds, meteors, and thunder, were, at first, taken for the residence of the gods. Homer always brings down the deities in golden clouds; and thence it is that our painters still represent them seated on a cloud: but it being very proper that the master of the gods should live in greater state than the others, he was provided with an eagle to carry him, the eagle flying higher than any other bird.

The ancient Greeks, seeing that princes lived in citadels, built on the top of some mountain, conceived that the gods might likewise have their citadel, and placed it in Thessalia, on mount Olympus, the summit of which is sometimes hid in the clouds, so that their palace was even with their heaven.

Afterwards, the stars and planets, which seemed fixed to the azure arch of our atmosphere, became the mansions of deities, seven of whom had their respective planets, the others taking up with what quarter they could find. The general council of the gods was held in a large saloon, to which they went by the milky-way; for men, having council-chambers on earth, the gods to be sure should have one in the heavens.

When the Titans, (a kind of creature between the gods and men), declared war, and not without some grounds, against those deities, to recover part of their inheritance, (being, on the father's side, the sons of Cœlum and Terra,) they only heaped two or three mountains, one on the other, concluding, that would be full enough for them to reduce the citadel of Olympus, together with the heavens:

Nor were the gods themselves more safe above:

Against beleagu'rd heaven the giants move,

Hills piled on hills, on mountains, mountains lie:

To make their mad approaches to the sky.

This absurd system of physics was of prodigious antiquity: yet certain it is, that the Chaldeans had as just ideas of

what is called the heavens, as we ourselves. They placed the sun in the centre of our planetary world, and nearly at the same distance we have found it to be; and they held the revolution of the earth, and of all the planets round that body. This we are informed of by Aristarchus of Samos: and it is the true system of the world, since revived by Copernicus. But the philosophers, to be the more respected by sovereigns and people, or rather to avoid being persecuted, kept the secret to themselves.

The language of error is so familiar to men, that we still give the name of heavens to our vapours, and to the space between the earth and moon. We say, to go up to heaven, as we say, the sun turns round, though we know it does not; probably, we are the heaven to the moon, and every planet makes the neighbouring planet its heaven. Had Homer been asked, to which heaven the soul of Sarpidon went, and where that of Hercules was, the poet would have been a little puzzled, and eluded the question by some harmonious verses.

What certainty was there, that the aerial soul of Hercules would have had a better time of it in Venus, or Saturn, than on our globe? It is not to be supposed, that its residence was appointed in the sun: the place would have been too hot. After all, what did the ancients mean by the heavens? They knew nothing of the matter; they were perpetually bawling, Heaven and earth; which is just as much as to cry, infinitude and an atom. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as the heavens: there is a prodigious number of vast globes, rolling in the void expanse, and our globe rolls like the others.

The ancients thought that the way to the heavens was by ascent: no such thing; the celestial globes are sometimes above our horizon, and sometimes below: thus, supposing Venus was returning from Paphos to her planet, after its setting, the goddess, relatively to our horizon, instead of going up, went down; and, in such a case, we ought to say, to go down to heaven. But the ancients were not so nice; their notions, in every thing relating to natural philosophy, were vague, uncertain, and contradictory. Immense volumes have been written, to know what their opinions were on many such questions; whereas five words would have done—*they never thought of it.*

Here, however, we must except a few wise men; but they came late: few opened their minds freely, and those who did, the empyrics on earth took care to dispatch to heaven the shortest way.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. is informed that none of those *morceaus*, called Christmas Carols, come to our hands.—Can any friend oblige the Editor with a copy of the Koran? it shall be carefully returned or purchased. A friend, who has an idea that a Petition to the King, signed by some of the Bishops and a numerous body of the Dissenters, for the liberation of the Editor, would be effectual, is respectfully informed that it has not his approbation; or at least, he would not wish his avowed friends to sign it. Personally, he is not yet in a petitioning humour, and doubts whether ever he shall be in that degraded state of mind. If the Christian Clergy think they can support their religion without penal laws, it might very well become them to petition the Head of their Church to remove the disgrace of further persecution. But if the Editor's liberation rested upon his personal petition he would prefer remaining a prisoner. Having been informed that a Petition has actually been drawn up, he would intreat his friends not to meddle with it further than to recommend it for signatures to Christian Priests.

Total amount of Subscriptions received towards meeting the fine and expences of Mr. Carlile, one hundred and fifty pounds.



Fifteen complete sets of *The REPUBLICAN* only remain, which will be sold at One Guinea and a Half per set.

Early next week, will be Published, Price Two-pence, **A NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS to the REFORMERS of GREAT BRITAIN**, by R. CARLILE.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

Printed by M. A. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street.

REPORT OF THE TRIAL

OF

MRS. CARLILE,

ON THE

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S EX-OFFICIO INFORMATION

FOR THE

Protection of Tyrants;

WITH THE

INFORMATION AND DEFENCE

AT LARGE,

BEFORE

MR. JUSTICE ABBOTT,

AND A SPECIAL JURY,

AT THE GUILDHALL, LONDON.



London:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. CARLILE, 55, FLEET STREET.

1821.

Price Sixpence.

COPY OF THE INFORMATION.

LONDON (TO WIT)

Nov. 24, 1820.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that Sir Robert Gifford, Knight, Attorney General of our present Sovereign Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King, prosecutes in this behalf, in his proper person, comes here into the Court of our said Lord the King, before the King himself, at Westminster, on Tuesday next, after the Morrow of Saint Martin, in this same Term, and, for our said Lord the King, gives the Court here to understand and be informed, that Jane Carlile late of London, bookseller, the wife of Richard Carlile, being a person of a wicked and depraved mind and disposition, and unlawfully and wickedly contriving and intending to move and excite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, to the commission of the crime of murder, heretofore (to wit) on the seventeenth day of June, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Fourth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, at London aforesaid, in the Parish of Saint Mary-le-Bow, in the ward of Cheap, unlawfully and wickedly did publish and cause to be published, a certain wicked and mischievous libel, containing therein (amongst other things) divers wicked and mischievous matters and things, of and concerning the persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the Government and affairs of this Realm, according to the tenor following (that is to say) "I will now come to the point
" with you, and tell you more than you seem to ask, lest you should
" say that I evade the question. In the first place I hold the de-
" struction of tyrants by putting them to death suddenly and vio-
" lently, or if you should think I am not sufficiently explicit, by
" assassinating them to be an act just, moral, virtuous, and legal,
" agreeable to the law of nature, which should be the foundation of
" all other law. A tyrant is the common destroyer of his species,
" and any member of that community in which he dwells and plays
" the tyrant, that shall receive any injury from him, may, in my opi-
" nion, meritoriously put him to death. The moralist, or a man
" with the most humane mind, will stand aloof and ask himself the
" following question, which would have been the greatest outrage on
" the laws, morals, and welfare of this society, that this man, who is
" an avowed and admitted tyrant should fall by the hand of one
" whom he has injured, or that he should have lived to have made
" unhappy, miserable, and in continued fear for their lives and pro-
" perties, every member of this society that should not feel disposed

"to flatter and applaud his wicked measures? give me an answer
 "to this last question, in the same frank and candid manner in which
 "I am answering your question, and I will give you my opinion of
 "your morality and virtue; with respect to the plot and measures
 "in which those men, whom you call Cato Street Conspirators,
 "were seduced, and involved by our Ministers (meaning the said
 "persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administra-
 "tion of the Government and affairs of this realm) and their agents,
 "they have my decided disapprobation; but, as I consider that the
 "majority of the present Ministers (meaning the said persons em-
 "ployed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the Go-
 "vernment and affairs of this realm) are tyrants, and enemies to the
 "interests and welfare of the people of this country, so also am I bold
 "to confess, that if any man who has suffered unjustly under their
 "administration, should be so far indifferent about his own life
 "as to slay any one or more of them, I would tune my lyre to sing
 "his praises. I consider it to be a want of virtue and true courage
 "that makes a man seek companions to perform such an act, and
 "a proof that he calls upon others to do that which he has not re-
 "solution to do single-handed; and in seeking men that will co-
 "operate with him he is sure to fall in with the most vicious of
 "mankind, and mar all the good he might have done as an indi-
 "vidual. I condemn an association for such purposes." In con-
 tempt of our said Lord the King, and his laws; to the evil example
 of all others, and against the peace of our said Lord the King his
 crown and dignity.

Second Count—And the said Attorney General of our said Lord
 the King, for our said Lord the King, further gives the Court here
 to understand and be informed, that the said Jane Carlile, so being
 such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and wicked contriving and
 intending to move and excite the liege subjects of our said Lord
 the King to the commission of the crime of murder heretofore (to
 wit,) on the said seventeenth day of June, in the first year of the
 reign aforesaid, at London aforesaid, in the Parish and Ward afore-
 said, unlawfully and wickedly did publish, and cause to be pub-
 lished, a certain other wicked and mischievous libel containing
 therein, amongst other things, divers wicked and mischievous
 matters and things according to the tenor following (that is to
 say,) "I will now come to the point with you, and tell you more
 "than you seem to ask, lest you should say that I evade the ques-
 "tion. In the first place I hold the destruction of tyrants by put-
 "ting them to death suddenly and violently, or if you should think
 "I am not sufficiently explicit, by assassinating them, to be an
 "act just, moral, virtuous, and legal, agreeable to the law of na-
 "ture, which should be the foundation of all other law. A tyrant
 "is the common destroyer of his species, and any member of that
 "community in which he dwells and plays the tyrant, that shall
 "receive any injury from him, may, in my opinion, meritoriously
 "put him to death. The moralist, or a man with the most humane

"mind, will stand aloof and ask himself the following question,
 "which would have been the greatest outrage on the laws, morals,
 "and welfare, of this society: that this man, who is an avowed
 "and admitted tyrant, should fall by the hand of one whom he has
 "injured, or that he should have lived to have made unhappy,
 "miserable, and in continual fear for their lives and properties,
 "every member of this society that should not feel disposed to
 "flatter and applaud his wicked measures? Give me an answer to
 "this last question in the same frank and candid manner in which
 "I am answering your question, and I will give you my opinion of
 "your morality and virtue; with respect to the plot and measures
 "in which those men, whom you call Cato-street Conspirators,
 "were seduced and involved by our ministers, and their agents;
 "they have my decided disapprobation, but as I consider that the
 "majority of the present ministers are tyrants, and enemies to the
 "interests and welfare of the people of this country, so also am I
 "bold to confess, that if any man who has suffered unjustly, under
 "their administration, should be so far indifferent about his own
 "life as to slay any one, or more of them, I would tune my lyre
 "to sing his praises. I consider it to be a want of virtue and true
 "courage that makes a man seek companions to perform such an
 "act; it is a proof that he calls upon others to do that which he
 "has not resolution to do single-handed; and in seeking men that
 "will co-operate with him he is sure to fall in with the most
 "vicious of mankind, and mar all the good he might have done as
 "an individual, I condemn an association for such purposes." In
 contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil ex-
 ample of all others, and against the peace of our said Lord the
 King his crown and dignity. Whereupon the said Attorney Gene-
 ral of our said Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King in
 this behalf prosecutes, prays the consideration of the Court here in
 the premises, and that due process of law may be awarded against
 the said Jane Carlile, in this behalf, to make her answer to our said
 Lord the King, touching and concerning the premises aforesaid.

In a few Weeks will be published,

AN ADDRESS TO MEN OF SCIENCE, calling upon them to
 stand forward and vindicate the Truth from the foul grasp and
 Persecution of Superstition; and to obtain for the Island of Great
 Britain the noble appellation of the focus of Truth, whence man-
 kind shall be illuminated and the black and pestiferous clouds of
 Persecution and Superstition be banished from the face of the Earth,
 as the only sure prelude to Universal Peace and Harmony among
 the Human Race.

REPORT,

&c. &c.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, GUILDHALL,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1821.

Before Lord Chief Justice ABBOTT, and a Special Jury.

THIS was an Information filed by the Attorney-General against Mrs. Carlile, for the publication of a libel in No. 8, Vol. III. of THE REPUBLICAN of June 16, 1820.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL addressed the Jury on the part of the prosecution. He said his friend, the Attorney-General, had thought it incumbent on him to institute the present prosecution, and the Jury, after they had read the libel, would concur with him, that had he not so done he would have been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty. The work in which the libel was published had been several times the subject of prosecution for libellous and blasphemous matter which it contained. The husband of the Defendant, Richard Carlile, was at present suffering for his concern in that publication; but it was hoped that future instances of severity would be thereby rendered unnecessary. But these hopes have proved fallacious: the husband being removed, his wife then took up the trade, after which his sister, and eventually a journeyman, a person of low condition, became connected with the work. The Learned Gentleman regretted that a female should be the object of prosecution; but she could not complain, after continuing to give to the world the mischievous work in question, after the warnings which she had received from former prosecutions.

The libel was contained in a letter dated from Dorchester Gaol, signed "Richard Carlile," and addressed to the Rev. William Wait, of King Square, Bristol, and purported to be an answer to some questions put by that Reverend Gentleman to the writer of the letter. Although the letter bore the signature of R. Carlile, the Crown had not the means of

proving it to be his production, and had therefore proceeded against the seller and publisher. Referring to the libel, he would abstain from all argument to show its mischievous and horrid tendency. If the bare perusal did not satisfy the Jury, nothing that he could say would have that effect. After some argument, the libel proceeds to speak of the Cato Street Conspiracy—that Conspiracy which had had the seal of four intelligent juries set upon it. In speaking of this, the writer's words were, "I hold the destruction of tyrants by a sudden and violent death, or (if you think I am not explicit enough) by assassination, to be highly just, moral, virtuous, legal, and conformable to the law of nature, which is or ought to be the foundation of all law." Thus any one whom the writer thought fit to say was a tyrant, he openly contended he was justified in assassinating; but, thank God! such doctrines were alien to the breasts of Englishmen. The writer goes on to say, "with regard to those persons whom you call the Cato Street Conspirators, I entirely disapprove. I object to them, because I think it was cowardly and impolitic to enter into association for assassination, which had ever be better done by any man's single arm unencumbered and unassisted." The Learned Counsel concluded by observing, that the Jury had heard the libel read, and he doubted not that they would, without hesitation, give him their verdict.

Richard Samuel Houlditch was then sworn and examined. He proved that he bought the paper put into his hands, No. 8, of Vol. III. of *THE REPUBLICAN*, on the 17th of June, 1820, of the Defendant, personally, at her shop in Fleet Street.

The judgment of the Court of King's Bench on *Richard Carlile* was put in evidence.

Mrs. Carlile was then called on for her defence, when the following was read by the Clerk of the Court.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

You have heard the distortion of the contents of the record, now submitted to your judgment by Mr. Solicitor General: but, before I begin to place the extract in its proper light, I would beg leave to observe, that I am not the principal in the publication of the work now prosecuted. I assure you, Gentleman, that I have neither the power or the ability to undertake any alteration in the manuscript transmitted for the press, and I never read it until printed. I may be told that this can form no excuse for me, and that it

is a misplaced confidence. I would answer: Gentlemen of the Jury, that I proceed in it as a matter of conjugal duty, and with a knowledge, that if any thing improper appears, the Solicitor General will never be deficient in the means of reaching the Author and Principal. My husband is the sole proprietor and principal, and, I am sure, would most anxiously meet the Solicitor General, to defend any article he might write or cause to be published. Some few months back, when several newsvenders were prosecuted for selling an early number of the Republican, the Solicitor General, in calling for the judgment of the Court, expressed a wish, that he could have reached the principal, instead of the persons, who must be admitted to be but subordinate agents: there is now no longer any excuse of that kind remaining, for I have put a letter into the hand of the Attorney General, promising him, that he shall have every necessary proof of the principal, without the least trouble or expence on his part. If the Solicitor-General resolves to proceed against me, under all those circumstances; you, Gentlemen of the Jury, at least, will know what credit was due to his former professions about the principal, and will, I am of opinion, infer that the Solicitor General had rather meet the subordinate agents, who can feel no interest in defending the work, than the principal, whose duty and pride it would be to make that defence before a fairly chosen Jury.

From all appearances, Gentlemen of the Jury, I have scarcely need to pause for the Solicitor General's determination; it is manifest, that he would rather combat a woman, and make false and unjust imputations, (for I have nothing of that feeling or wish which he charges to me) than boldly meet the person who could reply to him, and expose his chicanery. I must therefore proceed to make the best defence I can of the extract from the Republican contained in the Record. The extract, to be fairly stated, must be brought under two heads—the first is in a general point of view on the propriety of slaying tyrants; under the second head, which I consider can alone engage your attention, and which I believe to have been the sole cause of this information) I shall have to defend, to the best of my humble ability, the assertion, that the majority of the present ministers are tyrants. Observe, Gentlemen, the whole of the ministers are not pronounced to be tyrants; nor is any one of them particularized; nor is the recommendation to slay any one of them made; the gist of the article is a supposition of an individual, and I believe there are many such, receiving an

unjustifiable injury, and finding no other remedy, if he were indifferent about his own life, he might prudently slay the person or persons who had exercised tyranny over him in their capacity of ministers. If the ministers, or no member of the present administration, has dealt unjustly towards any such individual, then, Gentlemen, the argument or the recommendation avails nothing, and can only be viewed in the light of a moral precept to persons in power: but if the members of the present administration, or a part of them, have inflicted wanton and unjustifiable injuries on individuals, who can find no remedy, then, Gentlemen, and then only, the article extracted carries force with it, and becomes applicable, and then too, it is as justifiable as it is applicable, and in exact the same proportion. But I will proceed with the first head, or the statement of the general propriety of slaying tyrants, and in due order take the second head into consideration.

Every writer, who has obtained celebrity in discussing moral and political economy, nay, every divine writer, (as some have been called) has argued the necessity of putting the law of nature in force against tyrants, who have the power and the will to set themselves above all laws made for the welfare of the society in which they may live. Had the defence of this extract involved upon the proper person, my husband, he would have loaded this table with volumes from the best authorities, and from such authorities as no man in this Court would rise to decry, to support the propriety, and even the necessity of acting upon the recommendation made in the first head of the extract in the record. I consider a defence to be scarcely necessary, as it is impossible to distort the meaning of the words, unless that distortion be made wilfully: there is nothing vague, there is nothing obscure, but the language is honest and manly, and as plain and intelligible as the letters of the alphabet. However, Gentlemen of the Jury, as Mr. Solicitor-General prefers prosecuting the wife to the husband, I cannot fully defend this article by a reference to original authorities; I have the will but not the ability, and I must content myself with laying before you written extracts, but pledging myself that they have been faithfully made.

I shall shew you, Gentlemen, that the authors, who generally came under the distinction of profane and divine, are quite agreed on this, the point on which you have to decide, as to its propriety; and I trust that I shall be able to impress upon your minds an irresistible conviction, that the extract

in the Information is justified both by the laws of God and men. If I shew you, from the best authorities, that it has been ever deemed a moral and meritorious act to slay a tyrant, then, Gentlemen, you will be bound by your oaths to acquit me of any malicious intention, or what the Information further charges, of inciting his Majesty's subjects to murder. If by fair argument and unquestionable authorities I make it appear plain to you, that to slay a tyrant is not murder, then, Gentlemen, I am falsely accused in the Information, and you will, as honest men, and as men bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold, give me a full and honourable acquittal. You will now perceive, Gentlemen, that I have lost sight of my real connection with the Republican, and have taken upon me to defend myself as a principal, because that character is forced upon me, not by my husband, but by Mr. Solicitor-General. But I shall now proceed in my defence, which I calculate on being a complete one, and again draw your attention to my real situation at the close.

As I shall have a great deal to say about tyrants, in an abstract point of view, I would earnestly intreat your attention to my definition of the word tyrant, that you, Gentlemen of the Jury, might have a full and fair understanding of the nature of my defence. To proclaim a man a tyrant, there are two things to be considered: first, there must be a society of men governed by wholesome laws, then there must be some individual who, by force or fraud sets himself above those laws, and rules this society by new laws of his own making, or by his absolute will. It is not until he commits manifest crimes, which those wholesome laws cannot reach, because of his power, that he becomes a tyrant. Whilst wholesome laws operate upon the offences or crimes of every individual, there can be no tyranny in that state. This, Gentleman, is my definition of tyranny in an individual, but there is another species of tyranny, and that much worse than the tyranny of an individual, I mean the tyranny of an oligarchy. If we refer to ancient history, we find that individual tyranny because more grievous after a society had been governed by a wholesome code of laws, or a code of laws that was well adapted to the society for which it was made, such I consider to have been the code of Moses, of Solon, of Lycurgus, and the Roman code at some periods of the history of that state. It was during the operation of those laws, that tyranny was most felt, because, after those several codes were established, it was supposed, that there

were to be no exceptions, but that all persons were to be subject to them. In the first stages of society, tyranny could have not been so grievous, because mankind were supposed to have lived in a state of banditti, rather than society: it was after the adoption of the above wholesome codes of laws, that tyranny was felt, and that social intercourse felt its destructive effects, and proclaimed its destruction meritorious. In those early ages, a repetition of individual tyranny engendered the tyranny of an oligarchy. The tyranny of an oligarchy operate in two points of view, either by its members setting themselves above the laws, which are approved by the society at large, or in their enacting other laws without the consent, and enforcing them to the injury of, the people. Where the Legislators are not the Representatives of the People, human nature leads us to expect that there should occasionally be a destructive tyranny exercised, either by an individual, or an oligarchy. The representative system of government is the only effectual prevention to tyranny, for there the laws must be wholesome, and must be effectual in their operation, if these representatives be frequently changed, or chosen, or renewed; but where there is not a representative system of government, and where tyranny does exist; the only effectual way to be rid of it is, to go to the root and destroy the tyrant or tyrants. I now hope, Gentlemen, that in using the word tyrant or tyranny, I shall not be mistaken as to its import; and in selecting my authorities, I shall consider them equally applicable to the tyranny of an individual, or the tyranny of an oligarchy. I will begin with what are called profane authors, or the philosophers of Greece and Rome, and support them by numerous authorities from the Bible, which I trust will fully exculpate me from the charge upon the record. Before I begin to cite, I will read to you the first head of the extract in the Information, which I declare to you has astonished me to see it made a subject for prosecution, it is thus, "I will now come to the point with you, "and tell you more than you seem to ask, lest you should "say, that I evade the question. In the first place, I hold "the destruction of tyrants by putting them to death suddenly and violently, or if you should think I am not sufficiently explicit, by assassinating them to be an act just, "moral, virtuous, and legal, agreeable to the law of nature, "which should be the foundation of all other law. A tyrant is "the common destroyer of his species, and any member of "that community in which he dwells and plays the tyrant,

“that shall receive any injury from him may, in my opinion, meritoriously put him to death. The moralist, or a man with the most humane mind, will stand aloof, and ask himself the following question, which would have been the greatest outrage on the laws, morals, and welfare of this society; that this man who is an avowed and admitted tyrant should fall by the hand of one whom he has injured, or that he should have lived to have made unhappy, miserable, and in continued fear for their lives and properties every member of this society that should not feel disposed to flatter and applaud his wicked measures. Give me an answer to this last question in the same frank and candid manner in which I am answering your question, and I will give you my opinion of your morality and virtue.”

This, Gentlemen, is the first head, and I have no hesitation in saying, that as a female I would not shrink from defending this doctrine before any company of females in this country, and should think the subject not a jot more cruel than a conversation upon war, upon legal punishments, or upon the sports of the field. In short, I think it a conversation much less cruel, than that about the destruction of harmless animals.

Plato, in his plan for a Republic, says, “A tyrant must dispatch all virtuous persons, or he cannot be safe, so that he is brought to the unhappy necessity, either to live among base and wicked persons, or not to live at all:” which signifies, that if there was one virtuous being in the society, the tyrant would be destroyed. Again, he says, “the longer a tyrant lives, the more the tyrannical humour increases in him, like those beasts that grow more vicious as they grow old. New occasions daily happen that necessitates them to new mischiefs, and they must defend one villainy with another.” And again, he says, “The ordinary course they took with tyrants in Greece was, to dispatch them secretly, if there was no opportunity of expelling them by an accusation before the citizens.”

Aristotle says: “Tyranny is against the law of nature, that is, the law of human society, in which human nature is preserved. For this reason, a tyrant is decreed to be *partem civitatis*, for every part is subject to the whole, and a citizen is he who feels himself obliged to obey, although he has the power to command.”

Zenophon says: “The Grecians would not allow murderers to come into their temples, yet in those very temples

they erected statues to those who killed tyrants; thinking their deliverers, fit companions for their gods." An acknowledgement that to kill a tyrant was the very reverse of murder.

In Athen's, by Solon's law, death was not only decreed for the tyrant that oppressed the state, but for all those who took any charge, or did bear any office, while the tyranny remained. And here I cannot fail to quote the beautiful ode, on this subject, written by that virtuous citizen, that great moralist, that mild judge, and that enlightened patriot, Sir William Jones.

AN ODE,

IN IMITATION OF CALLISTRATUS.

Verdant myrtles, branchy pride,
 Shall my biting falchion wreath:
 Soon shall grace each manly side
 Tubes that speak, and points that breathe.
 Thus, *Harmodius*, shone thy blade!
 Thus, *Aristogiton*, thine!
 Whose—when Britain sighs for aid,
Whose, shall now, delay to shine.
 Dearest youths, in islands blest,
 Not, like recreant idlers, dead,
 You with fleet *Pelides* rest,
 And with godlike *Diomed*.

Verdant myrtles, branchy pride,
 Shall my thirsty blade entwine:
 Such, *Harmodius*, deck'd thy side!
 Such, *Aristogiton*, thine!
 THEY, the base *Hipparchus* slew
 At the feast for *Pallas* crowned:
 GODS! how swift their poniards flew!
 How the monster ting'd the ground!
 Then, in *Athens*;—all was peace,
Equal laws, and *Liberty*:
 Nurse of arts, and eye of *Greece*:
 People valiant, firm, and free!

Not less glorious was thy deed,
Wentworth, fix'd in virtue's cause;
 Not less brilliant be thy meed,
Lenox, friend to *Equal Laws*!

High in Freedom's temple rais'd,
 See Fitz-Maurice beaming stand,
 For collected virtues prais'd,
 Wisdom's voice, and Valour's hand!
 Ne'er shall Fate their eye-lids close:
 They, in blooming regions blest,
 With *Harmodious* shall repose,
 With *Aristogiton* rest.

Noblest chiefs, a hero's crown
 Let th' Athenian patriots claim;
 You less fiercely won renown,
 You assum'd a milder name.
 They thro' blood for glory strove,
 You more blissful tidings bring;
 They to death a *tyrant* drove,
 You to fame restor'd a *king*.
 Rise, *Britannia*, dauntless rise!
 Cheer'd with triple harmony,
 Monarch good, and *Nobles* wise,
 People *valiant*, *firm*, and **FREE**!
 May 14, 1782.

Amongst the Romans, the Valerian Law was: *Si quis injussu populi*, &c. "Whosoever took magistracy upon him, without the command of the people, it was lawful for any man to kill him." Plutarch makes this law more severe: *Ut injudicatum occidere eum liceret, qui dominatum concupisceret*. That it was lawful by that law, before any judgment past, to kill him that but aspired to tyranny." Likewise the Consular law, which was made after the suppression of the tyranny of the decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any man that went about to create magistrates, *sine provocatione*, &c. without reference and appeal to the people. By these laws, and innumerable testimonies of authors, it appears, that the Romans, with the rest of their philosophy, had learned from the Grecians, what was the natural remedy against a tyrant. Nor did they honour those least who durst apply it; who, as Polybius says, (speaking of conspiracies against tyrants, were not, *deterrimi civium, sed generossissimi quique et maximi animi*; "the worst and meanest of the citizens, but the most generous and those of the greatest courage and virtue." Such were those who conspired against Julius Cæsar. Cæsar

himself thought Brutus worthy to succeed him in the empire of the world.

Cicero, who was justly styled *Pater Patriæ*, the father of his country: if he was not conscious of the design to assassinate Cæsar, at least, affected to be thought so: *Quæ enim res unquam, &c.* "What act," says he, "O Jupiter, more glorious! more worthy of eternal memory, hath been done not only in this city, but in the whole world!" In the same place he tells us, what all virtuous Romans thought of the act as well as he: *Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarum occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini.* "All good men," says he, "as much as in them lay, killed Cæsar; some wanted capacity, some courage, others opportunity, but none wanted the will to do it. Cicero was also a spectator of the honours that were paid to such men by the Greeks, "The Greeks," says he, "attributed the honours of the gods to those who killed tyrants. What have I seen in Athens, and other cities of Greece! What veneration paid to such men! What songs! What elogies! by which they are consecrated to immortality and almost deified!" The same writer says: "we must have war with those against whom we can have no law:" and again, "there are but two ways of deciding differences, the one by judgment and arbitration, the other by force; the one proper to men, the other to beasts; we must therefore have recourse to the latter when the former cannot be obtained. For, certainly, by the law of nature, *ubi cessat judicium*: where no justice can be had, every man may be his own magistrate, and do himself justice."

Hugo Grotius says: "The law which forbids me to pursue my right, but by course of law, certainly supposes *ubi copia est judicii*, where law and justice is to be had, otherwise that law would be a defence for injuries, not one against them; and quite contrary to the nature of all laws, would become the protection of the guilty against the innocent, not the innocent against the guilty.

Tertullian, who was one of the Fathers of the Christian Church says: *Contra publicos hostes, et majestatis reos, omnis homo miles est.* "Against common enemies, and those who are traitors to the commonwealth, every man is a soldier." This opinion the most celebrated nations have approved both by their laws and practices.

St. Augustine says: "Those societies where law and justice are not, commonwealths or kingdoms, but, *magna la-*

trocinia, great confederacies of thieves and robbers. Those, therefore, who submit to no laws, are not to be reputed as members of the society of mankind, which cannot subsist without a law.

Now, as it is contrary to the laws of God and nature, that men, who are partial to themselves, and therefore unjust to others, should be their own judges where others are to be had, so it is as contrary to the law of nature and the common safety of mankind, that when the law can have no place, men should be forbidden to repel force by force, and so to be left without all defence and remedy against injuries. God himself left not the slave without his remedy against the cruel master, and what analogy can it hold with reason, that the slave, who is but considered as his master's property, and part of his household stuff, should find redress against the injuries and insolencies of an imperious master, and a free people, who have no superior but their God, should have none at all against the injustice and oppression of a barbarous tyrant? and is not the incongruity fully as great, that the law of nature, and the laws of society as well, permit a man to kill a thief if he be found breaking into his house by night, and that a tyrant, who is the common robber of mankind, to whom nothing is sacred, and whom no law can bind, should be considered inviolable?

The reason why a tyrant's case is particular, and why that every man hath that vengeance given him, which in other cases is reserved to God and the magistrate, cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a tyrant is, what his crimes are, and in what state he stands with the commonwealth, and with every member of it. If we find him an enemy to all human society, and a subverter of all laws, and one who by the greatness of his villainies secures himself against all ordinary course of justice, we shall not at all think it strange, if in his case justice dispenses with her forms. We are to consider, that the end for which men enter into society, is not barely to live, which they may do dispersed as other animals, but to live happily and securely. Out of society, this happiness and security is not to be had, for singly we are impotent and defective, unable to procure those things that are either necessary or ornamental for our use, and as unable to defend and keep them when acquired. To remedy this defect we associate, that what we cannot obtain or defend separately, we might by mutual assistance do it collectively. To this end it is necessary that we submit our passions and appetites to the laws of reason and

justice, for the bad passions of man make him as unfit to live in society, as his necessity makes him unable to live without it: and if that perverseness be not regulated by laws, the avarice, the lust, and the ambition of mankind would make society as unsafe and uncomfortable as solitude itself, and our association would but add to our misery and ruin. That therefore by which we accomplish the ends of a sociable life, is our subjection and submission to wholesome laws, these are the nerves and the sinews of every society or commonwealth, without which they must inevitably dissolve and fall asunder.

Therefore, a tyrant that submits to no laws, but makes his lust and will his own law, as well as the law of those over whom he might have power, is neither a magistrate, a citizen, or a member of society, but an ulcer and a disease which destroys it; and should a commonwealth fall into tyranny, it absolutely loses its name, and is actually another thing.

Sophocles says: *Non est civitas quæ unius est viri*, "that which is one man's, is no city:" for there is no longer king and people, or parliament and people, but those names are changed, at least their natures are changed, into masters and servants, lords and slaves. Hugo Grotius says: *Servoræ non civitas erit sed magna familia*. "Where all are slaves, it is not a city but a great family."

But I have not yet declared the extent of the severity of the ancients against tyrants. They exposed them to fraud, as well as force, and left them no security in oaths and compacts; that neither law or religion might defend them who violated both. That great moralist, Seneca, gives us the following reason why a tyrant should be thus treated: whatever there was of mutual obligation between us; his destroying the laws of society hath dissolved it. It was a further maxim, that the greatest injustice that could be done to a society, or to a tyrant himself, was to let him live, and that the most lawful way to destroy him was the readiest; no matter whether by force or fraud, for against beasts of prey, men use the toil and the net, as well as the lance and the spear. Thus every man was considered the natural judge and executioner of a tyrant, because when he was above the reach of social law, the laws of God, of nature, and of nations expose him as a beast of prey to be destroyed for the common safety.

Thus, Gentlemen of the Jury, it appears, that the wisest and most polished of nations considered the destruction of

a tyrant in the same light as the laws of England execute a criminal, or make war upon an enemy. You must perceive, Gentlemen, that the authorities I have advanced go much farther than my publication, mine is a mere supposition of an individual receiving a personal injury from a tyrant, but the authorities which I have advanced justify every individual in slaying a tyrant, without the consideration of individual or personal injury. The strictest moralist, if he be consistent and honest, cannot object to my proposition: if he does, he supports immorality and oppression, and consequently lays a false claim to the title of moralist.

I might have adduced a greater number of authorities, from the authors called profane, but I shall stop here, and draw your attention to the books of Holy Writ, to the Sacred Volume itself, for similar authorities, after which, I shall feel assured that your oath will not allow you to find me guilty of an incitement to murder, or of a malicious intention, in publishing these observations on tyrants: even if I am to be looked upon as a principal in the act of publication. The first case of tyranny mentioned in the Bible (if we except the tyranny of the Devil in deceiving Eve) is that of Cain over Abel. I do not mention this case so much as an authority to support my argument, as to impress your minds with the odious nature of tyranny. Abel fell a victim to the tyrannical disposition of Cain, and Jehovah displays most pointedly his abhorrence of the character of Cain, by the curse which he pronounced upon him. It is also the opinion of some commentators, that the giants, which are said by their wickedness to have brought the deluge on the earth, were nothing more than giants in tyranny and wickedness, and men of tyrannical dispositions. The first instance of the slaying of tyrants mentioned in the Bible, is the case of Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, slaying Hamor and Shechem, because the latter violated the laws of hospitality on the person of their sister: and the sons of Jacob justify themselves on this ground, against the remonstrance of their father: Jehovah does not complain of their conduct in this instance, therefore we are bound to infer that it was approved. The next instance is, that of Moses slaying the Egyptian for an act of individual oppression, and it is here evident, that the circumstance was approved by the great Jehovah, because we find Moses called to be an instrument in his hand to punish the tyranny of Pharaoh, and to rescue the Israelites from their bondage. The Mosaic law, as given by Jehovah himself, reprehends

and punishes tyranny of every kind with the greatest severity: but the most pointed instances of the approbation of Jehovah to the slaying of tyrants are to be found in the book of Judges. The first case is that of Ehud slaying Eglon, in the third chapter as follows: "And the Children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord: and the Lord strengthened Eglon the King of Moab against Israel, because they had done evil in the sight of the Lord. And he gathered unto him the children of Ammon, and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and possessed the City of Palm Trees. So the Children of Israel served Eglon the King of Moab eighteen years. But when the Children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised them up a deliverer, Ehud, the son of Gera, a Benjamite, a man left-handed: and by him the Children of Israel sent a present unto Eglon, the King of Moab. But Ehud made him a *dagger* which had two edges, of a cubit length; and he did gird it under his raiment upon his right thigh. And he brought the present unto Eglon, King of Moab, and Eglon was a very fat man. And when he had made an end to offer the present, he sent away the people that bare the present: but he himself turned again from the quarries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand unto thee, O King: who said, Keep silence, and all that stood by him went out from him. And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone. And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat; and Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the dagger from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly: and the haft also went in after the blade, and the fat closed upon the blade, so that he could not draw the dagger out of his belly; and the dirt came." Gentlemen of the Jury, have I need to quote another authority? Read first this story of Ehud and Eglon, then the extract in the Information, and say, Whether it be an incitement to murder? or, Whether it be a moral precept supported by the best authorities? but I will go further: The next instance, in the book of Judges, is that of Jael and Sisera it is in the fourth chapter, as follows: Howbeit Sisera fled away on his feet to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite: for there was peace between Jabin, the King of Hazor, and the house of Heber the Kenite: and Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, Turn in, my lord, turn into me; fear not: and when he had turned in unto her into the tent, she covered him with a mantle. And he said unto her, Give me,

I pray thee, a little water to drink, for I am thirsty. And she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink and covered him. Again he said unto her, Stand in the door of the tent, and it shall be, when any man doth come and inquire of thee and say, Is there any man here? that thou shalt say; No; then Jael, Heber's wife, took a nail of the tent, and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the nail into his temples, and fastened it into the ground, for he was fast asleep and weary. So he died. And behold as Barak pursued Sisera, Jael came out to meet him, and said unto him, Come, and I will shew thee the man whom thou seekest. And when he came into her tent, behold, Sisera lay dead, and the nail was in his temples."

The assassination of Sisera by Jael, is celebrated in the Song of Deborah and Barak, in much the same strain as the ode of Sir William Jones on the destruction of the two Athenian tyrants: it says, "Blessed above women shall be the wife of Heber the Kenite, blessed shall she be above women in the tent. He asked water, and she gave him milk: she brought forth butter in a lordly dish. She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workman's hammer; and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples, at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell: where he bowed, there he fell down dead. The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots? Her wise ladies answered her, yea she returned an answer to herself, Have they not speed? Have they not divided the prey, to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work, of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil? So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might." Is this enough, Gentlemen of the Jury, or shall I go further? I will go further, but be brief.

Samson looked upon the Philistines as tyrants and common enemies; and killed them indiscriminately. In this book of Judges, we also find, that the tyranny of the Benjamites, for their inhospitable treatment of the Levite and his concubine, is most severely punished. Again in the book of Samuel, we find that the sons of Eli from their wickedness and tyranny were slain in the battle, and the

ark of God captured by the Philistines. The horrid assassination of Agag by Samuel, is another strong instance of Jehovah's hatred of tyranny. Jehovah punished Saul for his tyranny and David too, who in other instances was called the man after his own heart, was punished for his tyranny in the case of Uriah, and Bathsheba his wife. Rehoboam lost the greater part of his kingdom for his tyrannical rule: and Elijah denounced the tyranny of Ahab and Jezebel over Naboth; in short, all the Jewish Prophets uniformly denounced tyranny in the name of Jehovah, and threatened the tyrants with the vengeance of their God.

There is another case in point, in the slaying of Athaliah, the female tyrant, mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the second book of Kings. She, like our present ministers, set up the cry of Treason! Treason! but her power was gone, and she met the becoming fate of all tyrants, by immediate death without trial or judgment. In the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, I might mention the fame which Judith gained for slaying the tyrant Holofernes: and many other similar instances might be adduced, but, I trust, I have done quite enough to shew you, Gentlemen of the Jury, that the doctrine laid down in the alledged libel is by no means a novelty, but, that it stands supported by all moral and divine writers.

I shall now, Gentlemen, proceed to explain myself on the second head, which charges the majority of the present ministers with being tyrants, and which I expect will be the main point pressed upon your attention by the Solicitor General in his reply, and by the learned Judge in his summing up, although I shall have nothing to fear, if the case be fairly and impartially stated, and if by you, Gentlemen of the Jury, it be fairly and fully considered, which doubtless will be the case when a woman stands before you: and I trust that you will not allow any false colouring of the case to weigh a feather in your minds this day, from whatever quarter it may come. I will read to you the second head, and then offer a few observations on it. The language is so plain as to render comment unnecessary, and I shall not pretend to say that its meaning is doubtful in the least instance. The second head is thus: "With respect to the plot and measures in which those men, whom you call Cato Street Conspirators, were seduced and involved by our ministers and their agents, they have my decided disapprobation. But, as I consider that the majority of the present ministers are tyrants, and enemies to the interests

"and welfare of the people of this country, so also am I
 "bold to confess, that if any man who has suffered unjustly
 "under their administration, should be so far indifferent
 "about his own life as to slay any one or more of them, I
 "would tune my lyre to sing his praises. I consider it to
 "be a want of virtue and true courage, that makes a man
 "seek companions to perform such an act. It is a proof,
 "that he calls upon others to do that, which he has not re-
 "solution to do single-handed, and in seeking men that will
 "co-operate with him, he is sure to fall in with the most
 "vicious of mankind, and mar all the good he might have
 "done as an individual. I condemn an association for
 "such purposes."

The first point in this head turns upon those unfortunate
 men who became a prey to the present ministers, under the
 denomination of Cato Street Conspirators; in fact, you will
 observe by examining the letter of the Reverend William
 Wait of Bristol to Mr. Carlile, (which is essential that you
 should examine it, and see in what manner this alledged libel,
 which forms part of an answer to that Reverend Gentleman,
 was called for) that the whole of this subject was forced
 upon his attention, and that he was in duty bound to answer
 the queries of that Reverend Gentleman in the manner he
 has done. The alledged libel states, that those men were
 seduced and involved in that horrible affair by the ministers.
 Gentlemen, I have no evidence to lay before you to prove
 this assertion, but since this article was written, it has been
 all but proved, by the bills of indictment which have been
 found against Franklin or Fletcher. This circumstance,
 Gentlemen, you are doubtless well acquainted with, through
 the medium of the public papers, and, if I durst, I would
 put some of the evidence in the witness-box to shew how
 far that man was connected with the ministers. One thing
 is evident, that Sir Robert Baker would never have allowed
 a man to escape under such charges, if he had not some
 higher authority than his own for so doing. I cannot go
 any further into this case, but I would remind you, that the
 Glasgow hand-bill, which cost the lives of so many persons
 in that neighbourhood, and for the discovery of the printer
 of which, the Government offered five hundred pounds, and
 which hand-bill almost created an insurrection throughout
 Scotland, has been traced back to Franklin. The letter
 which was sent to Sir Francis Burdett's jury has been
 traced to Franklin, and Franklin has been traced back
 and forward to the office of Lord Castlereagh. This is all

I can say upon this subject, Gentlemen, and I must leave you to draw your inferences on this part of the extract on the record.

You will particularly observe, Gentlemen of the Jury, that a strong disapprobation is expressed of the measures of those unfortunate men, called Cato Street Conspirators, but who, I verily believe, were but the seduced agents of baser and still more infamous conspirators; of which, the late conspiracy against the Queen affords no slight proof.

Now, on the point of the majority of the present ministers being tyrants, I can say but little, not but that I might urge instances enough in proof of it, but our Judges proclaim truth a criminal and punishable libel, and say that it must not be justified: therefore, Gentlemen, I must be content to draw you the picture of what constitutes a tyrant, and leave you to say where it is applicable.

Plato and Aristotle, in describing a tyrant, use the following assertions: "They endeavour to abase all excellent persons, and to rid out of their way all those who have noble minds. They dare suffer no assemblies of the people. They have spies and dilators in all places, and particularly a number of small spies, who affect discontent and opposition to them the better to obtain trust and make discoveries. They stir not without a guard. They impoverish the people, that they may want the power, if they have the will, to attempt any thing against them. They make war to divert and busy the people. And above all things they pretend a love to God and Religion." This Aristotle calls: *Artium tyrannicarum potissimam*, "the most powerful of all the arts of tyrants."

Machiavel says: "Tyrants accomplish their ends, much more by fraud than force; neither virtue or force are so necessary to their purpose as *una astutia fortunata*, a lucky craft; which, without force, hath been often found sufficient, but never force without that." In another place, the same author says: "that the plan of tyrants is: *Aggirare luvelli degli huomini con astutia*, &c. with cunning plausible pretences, to impose upon men's understandings, and in the end they master those who had so little wit as to rely upon their faith and integrity."

If studiously and openly to corrupt the representatives of the people be not tyranny. If to imprison men for months and years without any specific charge, and then to liberate them without trial, be not tyranny. If to seek Indemnity Bills for admitted violations of the laws, be not tyranny.

If to encourage the assassination of a peaceable and legally assembled multitude, such as was the Manchester Meeting, on St. Peter's Plain, on the 16th of August, 1819; and to shelter the murderers, by screening them from justice, be not tyranny. If the late Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen be not tyranny, then, indeed, I am ignorant in what tyranny consists. If all those things do not constitute tyranny, then the word is but a word of sound, and Dionysius, Draco, Tarquin, Nero, and Caligula, have been falsely libelled. During their reign no official character would call or consider them tyrants, but doubtless, they obtained flatteries and approbations, such as the official and servile part of this community confers upon the present ministers. All official characters will ever sing praises to the system under which they are employed, even if that system be one of the worst of tyrannies: therefore, Gentlemen, you will be able to judge rightly of the professions or protestations of Mr. Solicitor-General, or any other official person, who shall trumpet up the propriety of conduct of the present ministers, or their system of government. The Solicitor-General is but the breath of the ministers, and we are too often annoyed with a degrading servility from other quarters equally suspicious.

I verily think, that if the sense of the nation could be taken, as to whether the present ministers be or be not tyrants, that there would be ten to one against them. If these ministers had not been conscious of their own tyranny, they would never have instituted a prosecution against a statement, which is no more than a supposition, to make the most of it. It is weak and cautious when compared with the many authorities I have advanced on the same subjects. Guilty consciences are our most powerful accusers, and submit us to a perpetual terror from a constant inward accusation.

The Solicitor-General perhaps will tell you, Gentlemen, that the laws of this country will reach every man: but we have had very good proofs, that the only laws which have reached the present ministers, or can reach them whilst they are in power, are their own indemnity laws. There is one thing you have to consider, Gentlemen, that the Solicitor-General stands before you as a prosecutor in his own cause, for it must be admitted, that he is a part of the ministry, and he knows well if they fall, he must fall with them. He is, therefore, doubly anxious for your verdict in his favour. But, I trust, Gentlemen, that you will carefully

examine the record and the correspondence from which it is taken; and you will observe that the record embraces the extract as one paragraph, but in the pamphlet you will find it to be a part of two paragraphs, and some of the surrounding matter will be particularly worth your notice. The article in the pamphlet stands under two heads, in the same manner as I have defended it, but the record has most unfairly joined them together; for the first head is not related to the second.

The last thing I have to observe to you, Gentlemen, is, that should but one of you have a doubt that there has been no malicious intention on my part, and I solemnly protest to you that I feel innocent of the charge imputed to me in the Information, should one of you, I say have a doubt in my favour, it is the duty of the other eleven to make that doubt the doubt of the whole, and to return a verdict of not guilty. This is the maxim both of law and justice, which say, that it is better that ten guilty persons escape with impunity, than that one innocent person should be punished unjustly; I submit this suggestion to you, Gentlemen, because on such questions as these, political and party feelings are always brought into action, and are too apt to bias our judgments. Your verdict is my judgment, for if you throw me into the hands of my Prosecutors, vain will be a recommendation or a plea for mercy. I feel this comfort and assurance, that whatever be your verdict it cannot bring me into disgrace. It may punish but it cannot disgrace. Prosecutions for libel under the present system of government are almost desirable, for they are become the best proofs of honest and good intention, where the Solicitor-General is the Prosecutor. In closing my defence, I would observe, that the present verdict will be one of importance to the ministers. A verdict of not guilty will be calculated to shake them from their holds, whilst a verdict of guilty will give them additional strength.

“Take away the wicked before the King and his throne shall be established in righteousness.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL addressed the Jury in reply, after which his Lordship briefly charged the Jury, who retired for a quarter of an hour, and on their return found the Defendant GUILTY.



the correspondence from which it observe that the record embraces a pamphlet, but in the pamphlet you will find paragraphs, and some of the sur- particularly worth your notice. The pamphlet stands under two heads, in the one defended it, but the record has most of it together; for the first head is not re-

to observe to you, Gentlemen, is, that I have a doubt that there has been no fault on my part, and I solemnly protest to you of the charge imputed to me in the opinion of you, I say have a doubt in my mind the other eleven to make that doubt and to return a verdict of not guilty, of law and justice, which say, that it is persons escape with impunity, than they should be punished unjustly; I submit to you, Gentlemen, because on such political and party feelings are always too apt to bias our judgments. I am content, for if you throw me into the prison, vain will be a recommendation or this comfort and assurance, that it cannot bring me into disgrace, but not disgrace. Prosecutions for libel against the government are almost desirable, the best proofs of honest and good intention. The Attorney-General is the Prosecutor. In the end I would observe, that the present verdict is against the ministers. A verdict of not guilty will shake them from their holds, and will give them additional strength, and will be before the King and his throne a stain on their righteousness.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL addressed the Jury in reply, and briefly charged the Jury, who retired for deliberation, and on their return found the



EARLILE, 55, Fleet Street.

AN APPEAL

TO

Public Feeling

ON BEHALF OF

The WIFE and Three INFANT CHILDREN of Mr. DAVISON,

Who is now confined in Okeham Gaol, for Two Years, for a Libel.

In appealing to the generosity of a British Public on behalf of the Family of an honest and industrious individual, no other stimulus will be necessary to afford an instant attention to their case, than that Mr. DAVISON has had the virtue to oppose the iniquitous measures of an unjust and imbecile Association, leagued for no other purpose than that of destroying the liberties of our country.

The cause of the Appeal which is now made to your liberality, is not one of ordinary occurrence—it has taken place without the least semblance of justice. Under such circumstances, we consider it an imperious duty on our parts to assuage the anguish of him who suffers for the glorious cause of liberty, and to mitigate the miseries of his widowed wife and fatherless offspring: and although it is not in our power to save, it is, nevertheless, in our power to succour.

In searching for a family who stands in need of our protection, we cannot discover one more deserving of our support than that of Mr. DAVISON's, whether we take into consideration the various fines which at different times have been imposed upon him—the harrassing nature of a constant attendance at the Courts of Law during the pleasure of his vindictive and merciless persecutors—the barbarity of sentencing him to imprisonment in a distant gaol, where his family could not approach him to soothe the anguish of his mind, when he entered his gloomy dungeon—whether we consider the expences unavoidably incurred by a defence to a Crown prosecution—or the cruel and worse than Star-Chamber doctrine of *fining a defendant when making his defence*, to paralyze his efforts, and to prevent him from impressing upon the minds of the Jury such constitutional, just, and rational deductions as must have ultimately produced his acquittal. It must be recollected, that during this mockery of a trial, the Judge interposed and fined the defendant in three distinct sums amounting to £100, which had such an effect of intimidation upon him, that he relinquished a defence replete with the most liberal sentiments, and breathing that spirit of toleration against which there could neither have been moral or technical objection.

Mr. DAVISON has been for these last four years one of the intrepid and undaunted assertors of the rights of the People; and shall it be said that he is deserted, now the strong arm of power has succeeded in fixing him in the noxious and destructive grasp of that dark fiend—PERSECUTION? Forbid it Heaven! forbid it the Genius of Freedom! It never can be said that whilst an individual is sacrificed at the shrine of Despotism, the friends of Liberty could see his forlorn wife and helpless children pine for that sustenance which his exertions enabled him to supply.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to inform those gentlemen who have not had an opportunity of perusing the newspapers, to what privations our zealous partizans are subjected, and particularly the individual for whose family we are now soliciting your kind assistance: but never let it be obliterated from your memory that it took place in a Christian country!—in a country which we are told is “the admiration of the world, and the envy of surrounding nations!”—in a country enjoying more “practical freedom than any other nation on the face of the earth.”

“On our reaching the gaol at Okeham, which is a short distance from the village, we were shown into the prison. The apartment, as Mr. Orridge, our keeper, called the place

which he had set apart for us, exceeds my power of description. It is impossible to convey to you any adequate idea of it: to be adequately described it must be seen. It is a sort of entrance place, and has all the cold and dreary appearance of an empty barn, with all the massy strength and chilling aspect of a dungeon. This miserable place has three doors opening into it. Two into the yard, and one into the passage, which leads to our sleeping cells. These doors are immensely thick, but so badly fitted that all the elements may enter, without impediment. There is no fastening except the lock, which of course is not used during the day, and we are obliged to put a stick between it and the frame, to prevent the wind blowing the door open. In one corner of this apartment there is a heap of coal and straw; in another a watercock, which by its dripping from morning till night breaks the dull monotony of the scene, and affords us some amusement; but the superfluous water falling into a hole from which there is no drain, makes the stone floor around it extremely damp. We have a very small fire place, in which we have great difficulty to keep any thing like a fire. The place is about 12 or 15 feet square, but a great deal of this room is taken up by two massy pillars, which support the arched roof. When we first went into it, there was neither chair nor table, fender nor fire irons. The sticks, however, with which we light our fire, serves for a poker; and as for a fender, we are not in want of that, for it would only keep us a greater distance from the fire. Even in this mild weather we are scarcely able to keep ourselves warm. What we shall do when the cold sets in, God only knows. The yard in which we are allowed to walk is very small, not more than 30 feet by 24. It is not paved, and is extremely damp and dirty. From its muddy appearance the water lies in it after a shower of rain. It is not fit to walk in. In fact it is not large enough. The places in which we sleep are literally cells. The doors into these cells are arched and very low, so that one is obliged to stoop before one can get through them. This, I suppose, is Judge Bailey's method of teaching his *Christian* humility. These door places are secured by tremendously thick doors, ornamented with beautiful large nails. The doors, unlike those to our sitting-room, fit remarkably close. The cell itself is constructed of rough stone, and the top of it has an arch. There is a small window, but that is placed so high that it is impossible to look through it. We are locked up in them at 8 o'clock at night, and remain so till about 8 o'clock the next morning. We should have been obliged to have slept upon the straw beds upon which the felons, who had been removed to make room for us, had slept the night before, had we not hired beds of the keeper.”

We trust that no further appeal will be necessary, but that those individuals who are feelingly alive to the sufferings of a Friend to Freedom, will come forward to rescue their names from indelible reproach; and tell the enemies of lovely Liberty that the ardent zeal of the patriot shall not be frozen by the icy hand of public ingratitude. By this means we shall be able to ascertain the depth of each man's patriotism, by his willingness to sacrifice some of his own enjoyments to gladden the gloomy hours of him who pines in the solitude of a dungeon: thus their benevolence will become the index of their sincerity.

London, Dec. 18th, 1820.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received at No. 10, Duke Street, Smithfield.